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## U.S. Influence In Hungary

It is instructive that the Soviet stage balancing himself precariously atop the Hungarian rubble-heap, Janos Kadar, has taken a cue from British conservatives and U.S. liberals who blame the frustrated revolution in Hungary on American "provocateurs." According to this theory, Radio Free Europe incited Hungarian libertarians to rise against their Russian masters and then left the embattled revolutionaries in the lurch.

Comrade Kadar buys this theory and embellishes it with implications that Allen Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency "and brother of the Secretary of State," helped stage the revolt. The United States "knew in advance of the events in Hungary," Kadar charges, and hints that "not only indignant students took part in the revolt," but CIA operatives as well.

One way of looking at this accusation is to see it as the weightiest compliment that has been paid the CIA in a long time. Most of the evidence now available to Americans suggests very strongly that the CIA was caught as flat-footed and open-mouthed by "the events in Hungary" as it was by the Anglo-French-Israeli plunge into Egypt. As a matter of fact the record of the CIA since its organization has been anything but reassuring. In the turbulent years since World War II there is no indication that the intelligence agency foresaw, or forewarned the Government about, a single major international emergency in Europe or Asia or South America.

The charge that Radio Free Europe fomented the Hungarian revolution is more serious, but it cannot withstand close examination. It is true that RFE, a volunteer project underwritten by American citizens but with no official standing in the American Government, has found a great deal of propaganda fodder in the hardships, injustice, and unrest which characterize life behind the Iron Curtain. It is also doubtless true that the exploiting of these conditions helped to consolidate revolutionary sentiment in Hungary.

But RFE has been careful not to promise what it can't deliver—i.e., military and economic assistance—and it has been equally careful not to encourage the peoples of Iron Curtain lands to overextend themselves in rebelling against the Kremlin. RFE staff members, many of them natives of those lands, have been specifically warned against broadcasting inflammatory or irresponsible messages which would drive the restless subjects of Soviet imperialism to premature action, only to bring down upon their heads overwhelming punitive action from Soviet armies and secret police.

Probably nobody will pay much attention to Kadar's charge that American agents engineered the Hungarian uprising. Any kind of accusation which might divert attention from the spontaneous nature of that revolt will be seized by Kadar and his bosses. But the few if articulate Britons and Americans who, from mixed motives, would like to blame the American Administration for both the Hungarian tragedy and the Middle Eastern crisis must be refuted. They are falsifying history—not just current history, but the whole inexorable movement of world events which since the Russian Revolution has brought us to the present succession of world crises.

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